The principal crops of the Kwanatum area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regime, the former cultivated by hand and steel mattock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Nestorians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

Fig. 9. View north to town of the mountains of Kamiloon

The water (qanats) and [illegible]

conditions the siting of the villages. Some deep low-down in a river-at Tajarom support the forest
use of goods. Watercourses and springs are diverted to form basins for the finishing of water
for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging
these canals instruments (E. 234) and four ploughs, are used. The latter are worked by two men. Th
four plough was seen in use down by the Lower Zab on the terraced rice fields. Around the village
of Tajarom and Rakoom grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides bea
scattered growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used fo
some and dried as raisins. Around the villages of Sargalu, Bekhta and Tawella, which have ample
water, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are cows
and oxen, pit, fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, Pole, donkeys, fish, and mules. Asses, wh
ducks, fowls and geese. Horses, only, are kept as a luxury and ridden with a rush bit. There are als
big, yellow sheep dogs and for hunting (wild pig and boar) Persian greyhounds. At 5 a.m. the cows
are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the da
the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6-7 p.m. the animals are driven back

to the village, when the cows find their own way to their respective stalls for the evening milking. Sheep and goats are out on the mountains with the village shepherd from the middle of June. I was told in Balkin that his wages were 20 lbs — 1d per sheep for six months. Cattle are brought in the vicinity of the village twice daily—about 10 a.m. and 3 p.m.—when the women go out and milk. Sheep and goats are shipped at the end of July. Wheat is sown in January and harvested at the beginning of June. Reapers are not used. Side by side the men of the village advance through the wheat field and cut the straw with a wooden-handled sickle, *dik*, (E. 2343) about 37 cm.s in length. The sickle is held in the right hand. With four fingers of the left hand the men carry four harvesting claws, *gayakê*,[36] (E. 2342) fastened together by metal links. The corn is cut by the men alone, whereas the transport of it to the threshing floor is the women's task[37]. This is done either by the help of a long, plaited woollen rope, *gurik*, (E. 2344) about 4.00 m. long, or a large-meshed net. The rope is made by the women. The material is natural-coloured yellow-brown, black-brown and white goat and sheep's wool spun on a distaff. The rope is slung around a sheaf of suitable size, the woman lies on her back on top of it, draws the end of the rope over her right shoulder and gets up. The corn is unloaded at one of the village's open, circular, gypsum-glazed threshing floors[38], or in front of one of the houses where the earth is firm, having been rolled with a wooden roller which is also used to press out the

Fig. 3. Kurdish implements, sickle (E. 2343), claws (E. 2342), and hand-made rope (E. 2344).

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Fig. 1. Harness shoes from different areas. The National Museum of Denmark, Ethnic Department. Left: Iran, Bakhtiari mountains (E. 2341). To the right, a carved wooden board with recess for shoe fingers, from the Caucasus (E. 575).

● 343 water from the clay roof of the house after rain. Threshing or the open threshing floors takes place from July to October[2]. It can be done in two ways: the one is by driving round the fully-hanged sheaves by oxen, domestic animals, such as donkeys, sheep, mules or whatever is available, tied together in a row and treading out the grain. This method was also used up in the mountains and on the Shahrivar plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. The animals are driven round by men who with

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Fig. 13. Threshing by means of animals driven round the flail-trodden corn. Tripolitania.

wooden forks pitch the corn under the animal so it is gradually trodden underfoot. The second method employs a machine, *jnjiri*, which can be called a threshing sledge[1], threshing cart[2] or threshing roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists of two kidney-shaped side pieces joined above by a cross rest. Between the side pieces, which are studded with big brass nails giving the apparatus a superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh, two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of assorted, flat-shaped iron blades whose edges are at right angles to each other[3]. These blades are so placed that the machine runs alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at right angles to them. By its pressure and the efforts of the beasts harnessed to it, the threshing machine serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven round alone on the corn heap, but the transverse iron blades at the same time cut up the straw into chaff.

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According to Hay[4] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say [184]

243 407 18A

a saw is general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Lorch, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill economy style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[1] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[2]. Differing native geography governs the use in Lorraine, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[3]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taffiq, the owner of the village of Tirqasra, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated on an altitude, whilst the horse-drawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sledge on the Qarkirkan plain between Sakrawand and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[4]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

243 B51

The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, basalt or wood, placed in a store room[5]. Two forms of silo exist[6]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round covers as lids. The top opening is covered by a flat cover. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor on a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay ends with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of narrow glass and shells. According to Rudé[7] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[8]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain was sold in the village to whom was a well of carpentry and labour on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

B49

352 The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills is by stone and larger maintenance, as Lorch[9] concerning their construction.

480 384 B48

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, pl, has a plough-share, pshare, of iron but no earned mouldboard. The ard and beam are in one piece. In the example (C. 2240) that was brought home, the ard and the lower part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, handle, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a bow-plough, described by Ghib as a "yoked-ard"[10]. Wirth calls its type "Krummpflug" and compares it with the Tripolitanian plough[11] known from Arab tents. Cyprian, according to Wirth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppe, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[12]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish plough of antiquity from Dejbjerg and Vallberg, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Ekeberg-plough, has ard and handle in one piece while the beam or draught is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Wellsted[13], who calls it "Plough with complete beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from perch to perch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

VII

Extramural and nonhousehold urban environments has been mentioned together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sokomuni it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was hot for the day. The 4–5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but some of the women in the house preceding the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, loaves, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sokomuni bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. Water is delivered daily from outside. Some to be got in outside is fetched from the city by one of the lads, carried home on his head, stored under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 30 pot-ul cans, full cooking about 12 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the elders only. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and ejaculator, the basket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Ukhah* is made specially by the husband[?] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *Ukhah* would be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the city by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the smoking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. No extra task, exclusive to the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and cooking. It is put into sacks bleached together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on matspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain-cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The cleansed grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying and then all of it is sent to the grinder.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within each one or somebody else's house. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Eurd MAll

Chapter I

Subsistence and Livelihood

SUBSISTENCE

§1 Subsistence patterns of the settled population are essentially uniform over the whole South Kurdish area. A long day is spent by the farmer in food producing activities, in part because of primitive techniques, in part because labor is invariably expended in preference to capital.

• 2§1 2§2 2§4 Subsistence is based on cereal agriculture, combined with herding (cf. Table I). With an average yearly rainfall of 400—600 mm., concentrated mainly in a rainy season during winter and spring, artificial irrigation is only necessary for special crops, such as rice and tobacco. — Wheat and barley are of approximately equal importance; tobacco, rice, cotton, peas, lentils, and garden produce of vegetables are subsidiary. Of these, cotton is a recent innovation, and typical only of the warmer villages with an active and innovated landowner.

3§1 Among the domestic animals, sheep and goats are the important producers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals in plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys are used for all transportation, no wheeled vehicles are seen. The horse is primarily a prestige symbol, and has little economic use.

4§1 Productive techniques are generally underdeveloped. Agricultural methods are exceedingly simple, especially with regard to the basic

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAII Kurd MAII

take on the major responsibility. In tobacco picking, all the women and children of the village take part.

Rice cultivation usually takes place far from the village, if it is pursued at all. Rice requires a quite well developed irrigation system, connected with a dependable perennial stream, usually in the main valley bottom. The growing season is long, generally said to last some seven months. Persons living close to the fields are hired to tend the rice, and 1/3 of the crop is collected by the landowner as tax. It is therefore an expensive crop, but is considered to be the finest kind of food, and has considerable prestige value. In Table I, village status groups are indicated by the size of individual rice crops.

ECONOMIC CLASSES.

The system of progressive delegation of land rights in the peasant villages, referred to above with respect to the basic food crop, is in considerable measure responsible for the lack of efficiency in agricultural techniques and the low level of capital investment in equipment. Each person in the chain from labourer to landowner is only concerned in obtaining his part return, not in further investments. An example might illustrate the point.

Threshing is generally done with six oxen, without any mechanical appliance or equipment. There does however exist a quite efficient thresher (mentioned by Leach, 1940) which could greatly reduce the necessary expenditure of man-hours. The value of this thresher was given as £ 12, its life approximately 20 years. It is generally considered that 2 males working 3 days with the thresher do an equivalent of 6 oxen working 10 days without it. If we, to simplify comparison, equate the work value of a male with that of an ox, that gives a reduction to 1/3 in man hours and 1/12 in expended energy. Though the gain thus seems quite spectacular, the thresher is in fact very rarely seen. The labourer himself has no capital to invest in equipment. The tenant farmer pays the labourer the customary share for doing the threshing, whether it is one way or an other, and is certainly not interested in assuming any further expenses. Continuing up the hierarchy, there is no greater incentive to such investments for the intermediary or the landowner. Consi-

534 previous discussion, and are indeed implicit in the systems of status
631 hierarchies. An attempt will be made to relate the various status positions to ideals expressed on each scales, and in the final paragraphs of the section to outline the main scales on which individuals may be rated.

ECONOMIC CLASSES

546 The village hierarchy of class differences, based on division of
631 labor and attendant differences in wealth, has been discussed above, pp. 20 ff. This hierarchy is, as we saw, produced primarily by the feudal principle of delegation of work on the land, and is conceptualized in terms of distinct social classes, each with traditionally defined rights and privileges in their relations to each other. Each class is thus a status category, and they are arranged in a hierarchy leading from *laborer* through *tenant farmer*, occasionally an *intermediary capitalist*, and culminating in the *landowner*. This is in itself a power hierarchy, since each superior status directly gives opportunity for control over persons of inferior status positions, within the traditional limits. The *freeholding farmer* class, on the other hand, occupies a status partly divorced from this immediate power hierarchy. Characteristically, where such freeholding farmers are found in a village partly controlled by a large landowner, every effort seems to be made on the part of the landowner to secure property rights also to the remaining fraction of land, and thus place all members of the community in the unambiguous hierarchy of control and power. Consequently freeholding farmers with property of any significance are generally found in tribally organized communities, and a dichotomy between only freeholding vs. only tenant communities generally holds true. *Freeholding farmers* as a class tend to be on a par with the *tenant farmer* class in the larger class system, and frequently control a small group of laborers, and in certain areas also the serf class, the *Mezkjin*. The main features of the reciprocal relations between these classes have been sketched previously.

546 The special position of the *shepherd* remains to be discussed. He
631 is essentially a laborer, working for a stipulated annual payment in
• 595 kind (grain), but also receives a share of unborrowed breed daily
609

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1955 MAII Kurd MAII

from each household he serves. The status of the shepherd is rather low, and he is frequently a foreigner in the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated in the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats used to be herded by the small boys of the village — sons of laborers — and the adult shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large cattle.

The position as mullah (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other resident occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small peasant village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
peasant farmers (incl. one mullah)	21	123
laborers	9	22
shepherd	1	3
widows with no near kin	2	4
total	33	152

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named statuses, less closely hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Darwish, Shaikh, Seyyid, Mullah, and Mela.

Darwishes. The darwish religious fraternities (Tarekas), in their form and function, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and how the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

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any single village community.

462 The basis of the ordinary Kurdish menu is unleavened bread, baked in thin sheets (nan), and a sour milk product of the yoghourt type (mast) to which by a curious alchemistic process of boiling the whole sheep's milk and then churning it, a sort of butterless butter (mast) is produced, which is eaten just as ordinary pilaf would be with stewed vegetables or mutton. The fundamentals of the food supply are thus wheat and grain. And in fact by far the greater proportion of arable land is devoted to wheat cultivation. Each land is normally worked on an alternate system - one year crop, one year fallow and this rotation is apparently sufficient to maintain the soil in fertility. The supplementary acreage devoted to vegetables such as melons, tomatoes, gherkins, brinjal, lentils, etc. is very approximately one sixth of the wheat land. For the most part the vegetable acreage requires irrigation.

283 311 [649]

Though wheat has the largest acreage, rice would overwhelm in the gastronomic map if it could be economically cultivated. The rice yield in volume is roughly thirty times greater than that of wheat for equal areas of cultivation, and the Kurd is well aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing his rice acreage at the expense of the wheat. He would willingly substitute cooked rice (p'lau) for the nan if it could be managed. I discussed this matter in some detail with Shaikh Mohammed of Balisan and it was clear that he was firmly under the impression that the acreage devoted to rice in Balisan was the maximum the irrigation system would stand, and this was probably the case, though the irrigation was in fact very unscientifically arranged.

A third cereal grown only in small quantities is millet.

As things are at present, the cereal production is barely adequate for the needs of the local community and there can certainly be no exports. In fact most of the Upper purchase additional supplies of corn from outside so as to be able always to secure p'lau as their favorite method of eating.

437 433 In former times this bare self-sufficiency in primary products set no great strain on the economics of the community. For commodities had to be imported clothing was almost entirely locally produced, and trade requirements were limited to a small range of metal goods and certain luxuries such as tea and sugar. But as has

* In the village called Dergala there is an exceptional acreage devoted to the cultivation of peas, which appears to be a kind of lentils, but the proportion of wheat land is here correspondingly reduced. In this we see presumably part of the peas crop in transit.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Rural MAll
Rowandut

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Ind. this. My information however on the actual topographical arrangement of individual holdings is definitely unsatisfactory. From the evidence it would appear that each working group of commoners must hold in separate plots at least the following:- one patch of vegetable garden, one patch of tobacco cultivation, one patch of wheat and one patch of fallow. But my informants never formulated the position to me in this manner. The problem is linked up with the question of inheritance concerning which my field evidence is very slight. As I have stated, it appears that as far as land is concerned the rights of the Kavas have severely cross a cognatic reference. Granted however that the Ashe as landlord has a residual right to determine absolutely the inheritance of land tenure among his tenants, it is still far from clear how this works out in practice.

Rice

The rice cultivation seems usually to be the personal property of the Ashe - this being true at least for Nalanda, Bagoe and Dongola. I did not discover what particular individuals are concerned in the cultivation, nor how they are recompensed. It is extremely hard to understand why in a village such as Nalanda rice cultivation is not turned over to tribesmen. Nalanda himself actually complained to me that one of the reasons he was so badly off compared with his enemy the Ashe of Dongola was that the latter owing to better water supplies was able to grow so much more tobacco. Possible political reasons for this concentration have been suggested in a previous section; another reason is psychological - from the Nalanda point of view it just is not worth to go short of food and rely on the proceeds of a cash crop to make up deficiencies. In this perhaps the Ashes show remarkable intuitive foresight.

The Mill

An institution which I have so far neglected but which is of more than merely technological significance is the mill. There is a mill associated with nearly all the larger villages. There are mills at Dongola, Bagoe and Dongo. Nalanda has none but there is one at Kagoshima. All are worked on the same principle which technologically speaking is very efficient. As may be seen from the diagram and photographs the machine is worked on a horizontal turbine and thus uses the "velocity" head of the water instead of the weight as in the more usual types of water wheel. This has various technical advantages - for instance it dispenses of the necessity for any gearing - and if the apparatus were "precision made" there is no reason why it should not be highly efficient. Actually the crudity of the workmanship makes it impossible to work the machine at any great speed and the output is limited to about 2 ton of flour in 24 hours, working continuously. The operation of the machine is quite automatic and once started it requires only the minimum of attention.

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 WAII Kurd WAII
Rowanduz

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[Opposite p 74- E]

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

• 243

Plate 11.
Skimming Kurd Village

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Plate 12.
The [illegible] on a skimming kick

[opposite page 79 - F]

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MAll
Iraq

• 243

Grain is still broadcast by hand and reaped with a sickle. The first handful is presented to a reaper-by—who must accept it and offer in return a gold or silver coin as a token of thanksgiving

[59 A]